

Social Questions

BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a membership organization which seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges.

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Social Hysteria

Guest Editorial by Bishop Francis J. McConnell



Thomas Jefferson once said if a visitor from Mars could ever reach this planet, and had power to see what was going on, that Martian visitor would pronounce the earth the lunatic asylum of the solar system. Jefferson seems to have had in mind, among other things, the gusts of feeling which sweep over nations like ours impelling them to war.

Jefferson labored all his life for larger freedom for society. He believed in the power of social forces to create increasing benefits for individuals but he realized the danger when any social group was swept by passion into unsocial causes which meant harm to individuals. We are now living in a day of extraordinary social hysteria.

Two instances of social hysteria in a small scale illustrate the causes of hysteria and the lengths to which it can go. Both instances are of the behavior of religious groups, an annual conference of the Methodist Church, and a session of a General Conference of Methodism.

I belonged to one annual conference and vague rumors got about that matters were not going well in the making of appointments by the Bishop and his superintendents. A measure of apprehensive uneasiness pervaded the atmosphere of the conference as we came to the final session. Just before the Bishop stood up to read the appointments a superintendent reported that one of the brethren had asked for location. The Bishop then asked the reason, and asked the member requesting withdrawal if he had made such a request and under great emotional excitement, the brother implied he was withdrawing under pressure. Thereupon, that assembly of hushed men became furious, and half-a-dozen leaped to move adjournment. The motion carried; the case was thrown back to the appointment powers for another report the next morning. The group broke into applause, and would not cease till exhausted. Myself, I pounded my hands together so vigorously they were sore all the next day.

The next instance occurred at General Conference nearly forty years ago. The conference was considering a funeral ritual, and a delegate arose to find fault with some phrases. At once men by the score arose, and then, just about all delegates were roaring forth anger. It was hardly the most fitting way to discuss a service hallowed for centuries—but there it was—our assembly of a thousand men making a tumult indescribable, until after a period which seemed age-long, but not over twenty minutes, the storm blew out.

All outbreaks of hysteria have an element of fear, are based on scanty knowledge, or no knowledge; they have stored up in their "subconsciousness" emotions that only some crisis, often of no consequence, in itself, touches off into a blaze if not an explosion. This is especially true when social conditions are upset, and men do not know just what to expect

a day will bring forth. There is so much to confuse men's minds in a social state in which men are starving in the midst of plenty.

The explosions in the two conferences I am dealing with were of no great importance in themselves. Such things in the little give a hint of what may happen in the large. In both instances the trouble was the group did not know the facts and jumped to quick conclusions. A few minutes of calm consideration after the storm showed the uproar was foolish. But take not three hundred men, or a thousand men, but a public of a million citizens or more. Suppose that the vast majority of the citizens are well-meaning but ill-informed. Here you have the open door for the man who is not well-meaning, for the newspaper which owes its success to the assassination of reputations, or for the patriot who is of the type that Dr. Johnson must have had in mind when he spoke of patriotism as the refuge of scoundrels, or for the radio artist who by half-statements and insinuation prejudices the public against some of its best servants by hints about "Un-Americanism". Readers of Shakespeare's play, "Julius Caesar", will recall that after Mark Antony has made an artful speech which has raised the wrath of his hearers against Brutus, Antony says to himself: "Now mischief thou art afoot. Take what course thou wilt." In our day it is not to be supposed that mischief is confined to running "afoot"; it flies over the radio and through the press. It casts festering suspicions, which may never break into mob violence but poison men's minds against their fellows.

Returning to Jefferson's remark about the earth resembling a bedlam, it is pretty hard to deal with a lunatic in any respect. To put it plainly, the experts tell us that in dealing with lunatics the first step is to get the point of view of the lunatic. This is certainly better than the old-time reliance on strait jackets and fisticuffs, but the danger in getting the point of view from an aberrant mind is that we may act upon that view ourselves. For example, in dealing with a nation that is war-mad, even sensible persons will call and vote for a quick reliance upon war instruments to whip the war-minded nation into sanity, and that means more and bigger guns than the war-minded. If the peace-loving nations are to become and remain socially sane, they must find something better.

William Jennings Bryan once spoke for better methods of dealing with social evils. An annoyed heckler arose and asked if the speaker did not believe in fighting the Devil with fire. Mr. Bryan, whether we agree with all his social programs or not, had skill in handling hecklers. On this occasion he replied, "My friend, I don't believe that I'd advise you to fight the Devil with fire for two reasons—first, he knows more about fire than you do, and second, it costs him less for fuel."

Behind the Headlines

"You gotta have something to sell papers." This was a supplement to the cynical grins of many of the reporters at the press conference called by Fulton Lewis Jr., NAM and right wing Republican propagandist, to get into print the latest espionage scare, New Deal smear, and stimulus to the anti-Soviet madness he had already put on the air. When the fantastic bubble he had blown-up from the long forgotten notes in the cellar of ex-publicity agent for breweries, ex-major, Jordan, now assistant to the President of a corporation doing a yearly business of twenty millions, collapsed at the first contact with reality in the form of factually supported denials, Lewis' comment was "Well, you'll agree it was a story worth printing."

What is anything worth from a man who insisted he was U. N. representative to the Soviet Union even after he was informed that no such appointments had ever been made? Worth what? To sell more papers, to get more advertising, to make more money? To propagandize those millions who will never see the devastating denials because papers that deliberately lie to make money never print them, and those more reputable usually bury them in the back pages. And this is freedom of the press! Freedom to prevent the opportunity, and destroy the capacity, to make the judgments without which the people will go as sheep to the slaughter of Armageddon.

Saturation?

Some people get comfort from the thought that a saturation point in war and espionage scares and red baiting has to be reached some time. There is some evidence of immunity being acquired. A national radio commentator reports almost no mail on Hiss and Coplon trials and the Jordan tale but loads on discussions of cost of living, high wages, rent control and depression. The Progressive Party says it is getting red-baited less in '49 than in '48. Recently Sokolsky, NAM hired man, stirred up the Michigan State gathering of the American Legion to demand the dismissal by the Vernon Congregational Church of its minister, and also his removal as superintendent of the nearby Sunfield school, because he had written letters to Soviet Russia Today. Both demands failed, the school board reversing a vote to dismiss, after receiving hundreds of letters, some from Legion members, and seeing the students present the preacher with a gold watch chain with most of the citizens and farmers approving; also after the county paper had come out with an editorial "Let's Not Start a Witch Hunt."

Immunity to hysteria, however, is only a negative reaction, and is far from enough in the situation that confronts us. The greatest and most dangerous power of the press today is its power to withhold the news, especially on foreign policy. Roosevelt was re-elected three times with most of the press against him. But that was no issue concerning which the truth could be kept from the people, because they were experiencing it in their own lives. They have no such opportunity in peace time concerning foreign policy. The state department traditionally has kept apart from the people. Its recent publicity policy means that its point of view and the facts favorable to it are given out to the press. Even from Congress the President can withhold information on foreign affairs in the interest of national security. The bi-partisan cold war policy has almost removed the check of an opposition press.

The Blackout Curtain

As an outstanding example of the power of the press to lessen the chance for peace by dropping a blackout curtain before the eyes of its readers, how many millions of our citi-

zens do not know that in the recent UN Assembly session Vishinsky dropped the Soviet demand for the removal of the veto from atomic inspection and offered to accept majority rule? Or that Soviet delegate Malik said on the floor to a U. S. delegate: "Mr. Hickerson I can assure you that, if you will agree to our proposal for the collection of information on armaments, armed forces and the atomic weapon, we will definitely reach agreement on any system of verification and control."

Another recent blackout of vital concern to the future of our democracy is the failure of most of our press to report, and its refusal to discuss, the recent utterance of the Pope calling on Catholic jurists throughout the world to abstain from passing sentences based on laws the church considers contrary to its canons. Four points were made. The judge is equally responsible with the makers of the law. He cannot oblige people to commit an intrinsically immoral act; that is one contrary to the law of God and the church. He cannot acknowledge and approve an unjust law. If it is the only way to avoid a greater evil he may—sometimes even must—allow the evil law to run its course by enforcing it. A Catholic professor of moral theology says this does not prevent Catholic judges from carrying out the laws of this land; but he discusses it concretely only in terms of communist controlled states. A Catholic judge in New Mexico has declared that he will not permit his church to tell him he must put its law above the law of the land he has sworn himself to uphold. Blacking out this news will keep many Protestants who know and practise the duty of tolerance for Catholicism as a personal faith from joining those truly democratic Catholics who will resist the decrees of an absolute authoritarian church state.

On Guard!

Nineteen hundred forty-nine goes into history as the year when we have almost lost our Bill of Rights with most of the people not knowing what was happening. Nineteen hundred fifty is the year of decision. It provides the opportunity to start reversing the cold war policy and carry on to complete substitution of a constructive alternative in '52. Somewhere along the days of this New Year a serious economic breakdown is in sight. Unless a program of unlimited world trade, mutual welfare development of backward regions, and constructive internal improvements is ready to take the place of armament spending and financial expansion for profit the economic impetus to war will accelerate powerfully. The decisive vote will be cast in the Middle West states. There is where the facts omitted from the press, like the ECA survey showing the failure to achieve recovery, de-Nazification, and an understanding of democracy, need to be brought to the people. The points to watch are Formosa and a West German army. About these the State Department is talking one way and the generals another.

How can you get the facts? In Fact, with no party affiliation or bias, is a crusading weekly started to print what the commercial press won't. (280 Lafayette St., New York 12, N. Y. \$2.) MFSA Bulletin has a long reputation for factual accuracy which it aims to keep. When it makes mistakes it will correct them. In that sense it seeks to be objective. But not in the sense of sitting on the fence to watch the life and death struggle between war and peace, democracy and repression. It has a democratically adopted policy to interpret and promote. That policy and the gospel on which it is based is the only party line its writers know. Get some of your laymen and women to reading it!—

H. F. W.

Let's End Unemployment!

JOHN S. ATLEE *

BELIEVE IT OR NOT—Some people profit by unemployment.

"The best time to found a secure fortune is when times are bad"—John Lonsdale, former president, American Bankers Association. (American Magazine, Oct. 1930)

"It is to be hoped that depressions are never abolished, for they have many desirable features. Those who learn to ride the business cycle can find as many advantages in depressions as in booms."—Businessman Ralph B. Blodgett (Univ. of Ill. Bulletin, 8/25/45)

"Private competitive capitalism requires a floating number of unemployed"—Carlyle Fraser, Atlanta Chamber of Commerce. (Full Employment Bill hearings, p. 213)

How many? The New York Times business index regards 1940 as the "normal" year. Nineteen hundred forty had 8 million unemployed.

Barron's Business & Financial Weekly accepts the idea that "the only way to get a day's work out of a man is to threaten his children with starvation". (3/19/49)

Yes—unemployment has been a basic principle of the "free enterprise" profit system ever since the industrial revolution!

Even in the boom years of 1929 and 1948 there were nearly 2,000,000 unemployed. In 1933, an estimated 15,000,000 workers were unemployed, another 7,000,000 only partly employed. *There were more than 8,000,000 unemployed every year from 1930 to 1940—one fifth of our total labor force.*

And now the chief of reports and analysis of the Bureau of Employment Security comes up with the prediction that more and more persons are likely to be job hunting in the next few years, even with continued high production. (N. Y. Times, 12/16/49)

UNEMPLOYMENT WRECKS HUMAN LIVES AND UNDERMINES THE NATION

Between 1930 and 1941, unemployment cost the United States \$375 billion in goods and services *which weren't produced*—more than the cost of World War II!

Unemployment destroys the mass purchasing power which alone can keep our mass production industry working at full production.

Unemployment bankrupts the financially weaker small businesses of the nation and leads to increased monopolistic concentration.

Unemployment destroys a man's professional skill and his self respect, and disorganizes his family life.

UNEMPLOYMENT LEADS TO WAR! An American Business magazine, U. S. News,—not Hitler—said this: "Armament is the basic pump-priming mechanism for assuring prosperity in the future."

UNEMPLOYMENT CAN BE PREVENTED—by Economic Planning, not war.

In those countries with overall economic planning, such as the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, the great economic problem is not UNemployment, but *shortage of labor*—much as in the United States during wartime when we did plan our economy.

Even in countries with partial economic planning, such as Great Britain and New Zealand, unemployment has been far less than in the U. S., even in 1948.

In those Marshall Plan countries with little or no economic planning, such as France and Italy, unemployment is

heavy. In Italy, 15% of the labor force are chronically out of work. (See U. N. World Economic Report).

UNEMPLOYMENT CAN BE PREVENTED—in the United States, in 1950

by government public works: more TVA's, low-rent housing projects, highways, forest and soil conservation, schools, & recreation facilities, and medical centers.

by strengthening and enforcing our anti-monopoly laws, and by abolishing the so-called "Fair Trade Laws", so as to bring down prices.

by increasing the purchasing power of low-income groups through increased and extended unemployment and social security benefits, family allowances, minimum wage laws, and free vocational training.

by ceasing our trade blockade of Eastern Europe, and by aiding a world-wide industrialization program through the World Bank and a reconstructed UNRA. (It has been estimated that free trade with Eastern Europe alone would provide markets for the work of 3 million American workers, while the Marshall Plan merely builds up European competition.)

THE ECONOMIC EXPANSION ACT OF 1949, introduced in Congress last July by Sen. Murray, includes many of these measures. (Write your Senator for a copy.)

YOU CAN HELP PREVENT UNEMPLOYMENT

by reading some of the literature listed below, so you know *why* there is unemployment now.

by learning why unemployment is an unavoidable part of the profit system, and by discussing with your friends the type of society and the kind of economic planning you *want*.

by organizing your friends for pressure on Congress to improve on, and pass, the Economic Expansion Act, and other measures listed above.

"THE ONLY PURPOSE OF KNOWLEDGE IS ACTION"

Books:

Full Employment in a Free Society, by Sir William Beveridge, Norton.

The Economic Report of the President (Govt. Printing Office, Jan., 1950).

Introduction of Economic Science—by George Soule, Viking Press, 1948.

The Theory of Capitalist Development, by Paul Sweezy, Oxford Univ. Press, 1948.

USA—Measure of a Nation, a graphic presentation of America's needs and Resources, 20th Century Fund (Thos. R. Carskadon) 1949.

Economic Policy & Full Employment, by Alvin Hansen, McGraw Hill, 1947.

Pamphlets:

A National Economic Policy for 1949 ("Nathan Report"), by Robert Nathan (summarized in CIO Economic Outlook, Sept., 1949).

Public Affairs Pamphlets:

America's Factories: do machines make unemployment (No. 55):

Income and Economic Progress (No. 1, revised).

There can be Jobs for all: Beveridge's plan for full Employment (No. 105).

Cartels or Free Enterprise? (No. 103).

Articles:

To Head off the Coming Depression; *New Republic*, 7:4:49, p. 12.

World Hit by U. S. Setback; *US News*, 7:1:49, p. 14.

Strategy for a Depression-proof America; *U. N. World*, July, p. 36.

World Industrial Production and Prices; *UN Bulletin*, July 15, p. 97.

How Families Fare in World's Richest Land:

The current U. S. Congress subcommittee report on "Low-Income Families and Economic Stability" states that more than 8,000,000 families and single individuals in the United States received less than \$1000 cash income in 1948. That's less than \$20 a week. One-third of the country's families and single individuals received less than \$2000 in cash income.

Higher income would bring more consumer power, more production, more jobs, less unemployment.

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Reduce Federal Spending

Albert E. Barnett *

President Truman supposedly employed relaxation at Key West in December drafting proposals for a new federal tax program for the next fiscal year. The hard fact is that for the current fiscal year the federal government is running 5½ to 6 billion dollars in the red. The federal government spends every twenty-four hours 15 million dollars more than it collects.

Something must be done. Three alternatives are considered: (1) more deficit spending; (2) new federal taxes; (3) reduction of federal spending to a figure slightly below probable receipts from taxes.

Nobody advocates the first as permanent policy. It is, however, the current procedure. That it may continue for 1950-51 is suggested in press releases that after conferences with President Truman at Key West budget chief Pace predicted that unless Congress enacted a substantial hike in taxes there would be a higher deficit for the new fiscal year. The President has no intention of reducing federal spending. He proposes no alternative to deficit spending except tax increases.

Other voices, liberal and conservative, insist on a reduction in federal spending of approximately 7½ billion dollars. The National Association of Manufacturers, Senator Harry Byrd, Senator Robert Taft, and Senator Paul Douglas suggest the range of opinion favoring federal income as the proper measure for federal spending, especially in full employment and prosperity.

Those favoring reduction in federal spending vary widely on where the cuts should be applied. The N. A. M. advocates a maximum federal budget of 33 billion, 600 million dollars, about 4½ billions less than current estimated federal income and 10 billion less than spending planned for the year. To keep federal spending within this budget, the N. A. M. is represented as proposing restriction of public works, revision of programs for large scale river-basin development, reduction of highway and airport aids and a review of veteran's hospital construction program, together with a reduction in the number of federal employees, elimination of duplication of activities, and curtailment of accumulating hidden costs through contract authorizations, etc. They omit all direct mention of the areas in which federal spending is heaviest, military spending and foreign aid. Perhaps it regards spending in these areas as too profitable to business and too inextricably bound up with prosperity to be subjected to critical examination.

The cutting should probably begin at precisely the points where the N. A. M. is silent: foreign aid, which is largely motivated by military considerations, and appropriations explicitly military in character. The place to cut is obviously where the heaviest spending goes on. Of the federal budget of \$38,604,760,271, 43.3 per cent, or \$16,751,095,864, is currently allocated to military agencies. An additional \$7,221,924,151 goes to agencies related to the military establishment, making a total of \$23,973,020,015, or 62 per cent of the total budget, for military and semi-military purposes. Experts like Hanson Baldwin and Beardsley Ruml estimate that existing plans will boost appropriations for specifically military agencies to from \$21,700,000,000 to \$30 billion annually. Conceivably, it is for such prospective expenditures that the President urges tax increases.

That drastic cuts in military spending are possible without impairment of the security of the nation is indicated by radio newscasts on Dec. 7 which reported Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson as promising a \$2 billion reduction in military spending. Such an admitted amount can probably be multiplied by three without violating the realities of the situation. At least this would seem warranted by the observation of the Hoover Commission's report on the military budget to the effect that "the military services are far too prodigal with government funds" and that any "sense of cost consciousness" is utterly lacking in "the military establishment."

Illustrative of this lack of "cost consciousness" in the military establishment of the nation are: (1) the army's request for money to repair 103 more tanks than it owns, and (2) insistence on retention of \$27,476,000 for Selective Service and continuation of the Agency though inductions of draftees were halted in February, 1949 and voluntary, long-term enlistments have been drastically curtailed.

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The time to balance the budget is now. The place where heaviest savings can be effected is in the budget of the military establishment.

MYF ON SOCIAL ISSUES

Methodist Youth adopted several forward-looking resolutions at the National Conference at Lycoming College. Attacking the evil of segregation as "failure to practice fully the gospel of brotherhood," they called for non-segregated national conference meetings and accommodations; abolition of the Central Jurisdiction; removal of discriminatory practices in all institutions of the Methodist Church. They urged boards of the church to follow the Woman's Division in a study of racial practices in their field to end segregation and discrimination. Youth leaders met recently with the Methodist Conference on Christian Education, working toward elimination of segregation in the schools. A survey revealed there is much color discrimination in Methodist-related educational institutions. (An encouraging note comes from MFSA'er Myron Herrell, Hayward, Cal., telling of non-segregated activities in his church, an indication that "the color line may someday be eradicated in the Church.").

MYF views "with great concern rising unemployment" as "evidence that our present economic system is not necessarily stable, nor safe from the tragedy of depression," and calls for application of "the Christian ethic to the economic life of our country, particularly the basis of our present system, the profit motive and its consequences. Christian youth should not be bound by loyalty to any one system or party" . . . seeking "to support legislation which provides a decent standard of living and financial security for all." The right of labor and management to organize and bargain collectively is recognized, and the union label adopted for all publications of the Conference, as a symbol of the significant social function of unions in an industrialized society.

The National Conference, believing "that mankind should and can live in peace and brotherhood under the principle of love set forth by Christ," calls upon the U. S. government "to take the lead in striving for more effective international cooperation . . . to strengthen the United Nations as an organization capable of bringing about world peace" and rejects "the present policy of unilateral action and military alliances." "The present policy of excessive arming in this country is not only leading to an international arms race but also is slowing down the economic recovery of the world." The youth urged that scientific research be directed toward peace, instead of weapons of destruction.

FOR WHOM PRAY WE DAILY BREAD?

Feeding the hungry will help bring peace. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization serves that cause. But, as the Foreign Policy Association points out: "In its four years the FAO has contributed four major ideas for world affairs. The United States successfully led opposition to all but one. In November 1946, this country led the forces which defeated the plan of Sir John Boyd Orr, then FAO Director-General, for establishment of a World Food Board empowered to distribute surpluses to the hungry on an international basis and to work for increases both in the consumption and production of food-stuffs throughout the world. At the same time the United States shelved the recommendations of an FAO special mission to Greece for effecting financial and administrative reforms in that country under international supervision and with international aid.

The fourth proposal of the organization was a recommendation by FAO Director-General Norris E. Dodd to the recent conference in Washington that it establish an International Commodity Clearing House, to perform temporarily on a restricted scale what Orr's Food Board would have done permanently—that is, distribute surpluses to areas where food is scarce. Again the United States successfully guided opposition to the plan. As one example of the maldistribution which this plan would have endeavored to correct, eggs are still rationed in Great Britain while the United States Commodity Credit Corporation keeps 67,000,000 pounds of dried eggs impounded as surplus in warehouses as part of its program for supporting agricultural prices. This adds point to the concern expressed by Methodist women last month over "our enormous surpluses of food in the United States when there is need at home and mass starvation across the world." (See "Babies of Migratory Workers Starve to Death" on page 8.)

Reason and Religion

LEWIS O. HARTMAN

One reason for the remarkable spread of neo-orthodoxy is that many world-weary persons disillusioned by war, and beset with doubts and fears have grown pessimistic about human destiny. They desire to be "let alone" and to "leave it all to God". They are skeptical about intellectual processes and tend to discount practical Christian achievement.

Dr. DeWolf's new book will prove a God-send to thousands. The author, professor of systematic theology in Boston University School of Theology and a member of the Executive Committee of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, deals with a fundamental issue—the conflict between western liberalism and neo-orthodoxy. He grapples with the very essence of the conflict, the place of reason in religion.

There are no wasted words, no unrelated digressions. Sound logic, close reasoning and the spirit of reverence characterize all chapters.

The cult of irrationalism has spread far and wide. The trend is not new. "The prophets outside the canon", the Danish Kierkegaard, the Russian Dostoevsky, the Norwegian Ibsen and the Spanish Unamuno, all with dramatic power have proclaimed the frustrations of man's rational approach to God. Their modern followers in the theological field, Barth, Brunner, Heim, Reinhold Niebuhr, Lourie, Minear, Swenson and Douglas Horton have given added impetus to the "faith alone" view of religion.

Now comes Professor DeWolf to discuss this whole issue and to state the case of his opponents persuasively, forcefully, fairly. He then urgently defends the use of reason in religion, and cites powerfully the objections to irrationalism. The closing chapter, "Reason and Faith," is positive and constructive leaving the reader with the firm conviction that the author has "built his house upon a rock."

Professor DeWolf in his criticism of the "crisis theology" wisely deals directly and mainly with Kierkegaard, ablest exponent of the principles which have led to the modern revival of the religion of the Calvinistic Reformers. "It is all in Kierkegaard."

The author's is no abstract, logic-chopping reason, nor reason in the narrow scientific sense. He does not set reason over against revelation. "The rational method most adequate for universal application is that synoptic method which appeals to unlimited comprehensive coherence. Those who employ this test of truth try every hypothesis for both consistency with and relevance to, all possible observed data and previously adopted theories. The effort is continually made to construct a system of knowledge which includes the widest possible variety of data. "Such reason" has already been joined with faith by the creative act of God. What God has joined together man must not seek to put asunder. Neither can live without the other."

"However inadequate it may be, our own thinking capacity is all that we have for the interpretation of our total experience revelatory or otherwise." Can any one deny this? Do not the Barthians themselves bring their so called "irrational" views to the rational test?

"The Religious Revolt Against Reason" is a "must book" for all forward-looking leaders who believe in the practical application of Christianity. The cause which they espouse cannot go forward to any real success on the basis of neo-orthodoxy.

This is our prayer: "Thy Kingdom come on earth." We therefore should be prepared to mobilize all our resources of intelligence to discover ways and means by which to make God's will dominant in all our human relationships.

The Religious Revolt Against Reason, L. Harold DeWolf; Harper and Brothers, Price \$2.50.

YOUR MOST HUMBLE SERVANT, Shirley Graham, Julian Messner. \$3. Poignant story of brilliant, almost forgotten early American Negro, Benjamin Banneker. (Order a more detailed review by Rev. Wayne White from MFSA.)

VICTORIES AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Federal Public Housing Authority ruled no more financial aid for housing projects with recorded covenants barring tenants because of race, color or religion. (MFSA Administrative Committee voted to commend President Truman on his approval of this measure and urged that it be carried out in letter and spirit.)

For the first time the Federal Council of Churches voted to file briefs with the Supreme Court. These were in the case of Herman Sweatt, Negro applicant for admission to the University of Texas Law School. The Supreme Court is to review the case this month. It could mean a great victory against segregation.

A poll taken by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, answered by 3,375 faculty members and administrative officers in the South showed 7 out of 10 favored immediate admission of Negro students to graduate and professional schools without segregation. The Catholic Archbishop of New Orleans cancelled the annual Holy Hour in the City Park Stadium because the Park Board insisted on segregation.

Rev. Michael Scott, English Anglican clergyman now in South Africa, succeeded after repeated efforts since 1947 in bringing the United Nations the story of oppression and gross misuse by the Union of South Africa in the former mandate colony of Southwest Africa. (Among the committee members who voted against hearing Rev. Scott was our own U. S. representative!) As a result of his speech, the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly censured South Africa for having repudiated its promise to submit informational reports of its administration of Southwest Africa, and called upon it to do so. (According to Reuters News Agency, between 20 and 40 Africans were killed and many more injured, when police opened fire on striking miners at the government-operated coal mines at Enugu, Nigeria, West Africa on Nov. 18. The demand was for a daily basic wage of 80¢!)

SUPPORT THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY CIVIL RIGHTS MOBILIZATION

in Washington January 15-17, sponsored by NAACP and other organizations. Civil Rights Legislation has been sabotaged long enough. It was promised by President Truman and by both major political parties. Let your Congressman and Senators hear!

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WHY SOCIALISM?

ALBERT EINSTEIN *

Modern anthropology has taught us that the social behavior of human beings may differ greatly, depending upon prevailing cultural patterns and the types of organization which predominate in society. It is on this that those who are striving to improve the lot of man may ground their hopes: human beings are *not* condemned to annihilate each other or to be at the mercy of a cruel, self-inflicted fate.

The essence of the crisis of our time concerns the relationship of the individual to society. The individual has become more conscious than ever of his dependence upon society. But he does not experience this dependence as a positive asset, as an organic tie, but rather as a threat to his natural rights, or even to his economic existence. Moreover, his position in society is such that egotistical drives are constantly being accentuated, while his social drives progressively deteriorate. All human beings feel insecure, lonely, and deprived of the naive, simple, and unsophisticated enjoyment of life. Man can find meaning in life only through devoting himself to society.

The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is the real source of the evil. The entire productive capacity that is needed for producing consumer goods as well as additional capital goods for the most part are the private property of individuals. The owner of the means of production purchases the labor power of the worker. By using the means of production, the worker produces new goods which become the property of the capitalist. The essential point about this process is the relation between what the worker produces and what he is paid, both measured in terms of real value. Insofar as the labor contract is "free," what the worker receives is determined *not* by the real value of the goods he produces, but by his minimum needs and by the capitalists' requirements for labor power.

Private capital tends to become concentrated in few hands, partly because of competition among the capitalists, and partly because technological development and the increasing division of labor encourage the formation of larger units of production at the expense of the smaller ones. The result is an *oligarchy of private capital*, the enormous power of which cannot be effectively checked. This is true since the members of legislative bodies are selected by political parties, largely financed or otherwise influenced by private capitalists who, for all practical purposes, separate the electorate from the legislature. The consequence is that the representatives of the people do not sufficiently protect the interests of the underprivileged. Moreover, private capitalists inevitably control, directly or indirectly, the main sources of information (press, radio, education). It is thus extremely difficult, and indeed in most cases quite impossible, for the individual citizen to come to objective conclusions.

The situation in an economy based on the private ownership of capital is characterized thus: first, means of production (capital) are privately owned and the owners dispose of them as they see fit; second, the labor contract is free. It should be noted that the workers, through long and bitter political struggles, have succeeded in securing a somewhat improved form of "free labor contract" for certain categories of workers.

Production is carried on for profit, not for use. There is no provision that all those able and willing to work will always find employment; an "army of unemployed" almost always exists. The worker is constantly in fear of losing his job. Unemployed and poorly paid workers do not provide a profitable market; the production of consumers' goods is restricted, and great hardship is the consequence. Techno-

logical progress frequently results in more unemployment rather than in an easing of the burden of work for all. The profit motive, in conjunction with competition among capitalists, is responsible for an instability in the accumulation and utilization of capital which leads to *increasingly severe depressions*. Unlimited competition leads to a huge waste of labor and cripples social consciousness of individuals.

This *crippling of individuals* I consider the worst evil of capitalism. Our whole educational system suffers from this evil. An exaggerated competitive attitude is inculcated into the student, who is trained to worship acquisitive success.

I am convinced there is only *one* way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system oriented toward social goals. In such an economy, the means of production are owned by society itself and are utilized in a planned fashion. A *planned economy*, which adjusts production to the needs of the community, would distribute the work to be done among all those able to work and would guarantee a livelihood to every man, woman, and child. The education of the individual, in addition to promoting his own innate abilities, would attempt to develop in him *a sense of responsibility for his fellow men* in place of the glorification of power and success in our present society.

The achievement of socialism requires the solution of some extremely difficult socio-political problems: how, in view of the far-reaching centralization of political and economic power, to prevent bureaucracy from becoming all-powerful? How can the rights of the individual be protected?

Clarity about the aims and problems of socialism is of greatest significance in our age of transition.

TOWARDS PEACE IN A NEW CHINA

Madame Sun Yat-Sen *

"For the first time in China's history, there is a widely representative group of people forming a real united front to carry out a common program and establish a genuine people's democratic government. (She described the granting of land to the peasants, the ending of corruption in Shanghai and other cities, the combatting of inflation, the increasing of production. She described how the new leaders "frankly admitted their mistakes and called for advice in helping the people to help themselves. They asked industrialists, workers, students, cultural workers and educators: 'Tell us how the greatest benefits can be gained for the people.' This has resulted in the people's revolutionary support and there can be but one outcome: success.")

"The achievements of our people have changed the perspective of the entire world. No longer can the reactionary forces think in terms other than their own extinction should they instigate a third world conflict. There exists something which is non-fissionable, something more powerful than the atomic monster of imperialist military creation . . . the core of the world peace coalition. China's masses are welded to people's governments and forces in every part of the globe. They have swung the balance of history.

"Let us dedicate ourselves to the task of preventing the destruction of civilization. Let us exert every ounce of man's energy and everything produced by him to ensure that everywhere the common people of the world get their due from life. Our task does not end until every hovel has been rebuilt into a decent house, until the products of the earth are within easy reach of all, until the profits from the factories are returned in equal amount to the effort exerted, until the family can have complete medical care from the cradle to the grave. When these necessities are equally at hand for everyone, regardless of race, color, creed and place of residence in this world, then we shall know we have reached our goal. This, then is the call to the colors of the New China, of the new world."

* From an address to the People's Political Consultative Council. Madame Sun was trained in part at Methodism's Wesleyan College in Georgia. She is a Vice-Chairman of China's new government.

* Dr. Einstein is the world-famous physicist. Article condensed from the "Monthly Review", an independent publication promoting socialism. Italics ours. Complete article available free on request.

Voices for Peace

Commission on World Peace—At its annual meeting adopted proposals including:

- International cooperation.* Support of United Nations.
- Confidence in possibility of peace.* War is not inevitable. No justification for propagation of fear or advocacy of a "preventive war."
- Reduction and control of armaments.*
- Self-government for dependent and minority peoples.*
- Economic justice.* Recognized need of "an economic system in which personality rather than profit is the central concern."
- Displaced Persons.* Liberalize the present restrictive act.
- China.* Asked de facto recognition of new government in areas under its control. Favored expenditures for relief of hunger and want among suffering Chinese people, but no further military aid to Nationalist government. Commended efforts to increase trade with China and to share "benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress" to help them solve problems.

—*Soviet-American Relations.* Tensions between East and West not beyond solution through the spirit of reconciliation and: (a) abatement of hysteria; (b) mutual understanding; (c) understanding of Communism; (d) preservation of civil liberties; (e) economic co-operation (endorsed statement of American Friends Service Committee, in particular opening up of trade between U. S. and U. S. S. R.; and restoration of a united Germany with prevention of development of German industrial potential into eventual instrument of military power.)

—*Conclusion:* "There are Christians enough—and Methodists enough—to banish fear and vindictiveness and turn the currents of human affairs toward security, justice, and lasting peace. Under God, shall we do it?"

* * * *

Northern Baptist Council on Christian Social Progress:

"The announcement of Russian construction of an atomic bomb should not be used to increase our fear and hatred. . . . Now that Russian and American skills in killing approach equality, it is time to share also our skills in living. . . ."

Northern Baptist Convention urged our government "to reduce the policy of preparation for atomic war and enlarge the development of atomic energy along constructive lines, meantime exploring every possibility of agreement between the nations regarding international control of atomic energy and the free movement of people . . . that there may result increasing mutual confidence."

* * * *

MFSA Member on Alternatives to War—W. W. Reid,

editor of *The Pastor's Journal* and associate treasurer of the Federation, writes in *Zion's Herald*:

"Out of the maze of misunderstanding between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R.—and out of the sometimes deliberate misrepresentation of one or the other—a few relatively unchallenged facts seem to emerge:

- The people of the U. S. A. and of Russia do not want war.
- Misunderstanding, misinformation, secrecy, hatreds, name-calling, and emphasis upon "differences" lead to fear between nations as between individuals; fear leads to "incidents" . . . to a race to arm and to prepare for "defense." "Incidents" incite and excite to war.

● An armament race gives fools a sword-rattling spirit of braggadocio and a desire to use arms—and this is war.

"Let us take courage that men are, here and there, working and talking intelligently for peace . . . Bishop Oxnham insists that if 'two strong men'—Stalin and Truman—would face each other at the conference table, some plans toward peace could be agreed upon; that if ranking civil leaders of both nations . . . would meet and exchange ideas freely and fully, roads to understanding and peace could be built."

Mr. Reid also commends the American Friends Service Committee's proposals as steps toward Soviet-American peace; the Archbishop of York for suggesting we wipe out social injustices; and the recent conference in Washington on "alternatives to war" which recommended removal of restrictions on East-West trade.

Orr for Peace by Science—

Lord Boyd Orr called for a world conference of scientists and said the Russians would cooperate toward peace "if we leave out politics and talk down-to-earth realities with them." (*United Press*, London)

* * * *

David Lawrence—"It Could Mean Peace"—

" . . . now both sides have the atomic bomb. Certainly the Soviets will not start a war while they are seeking to build a stockpile of bombs. Doesn't the situation call for a new approach in the world?

" . . . Must we not give up the spirit of our military men who point to targets our B-36's aim to reach? Must we not begin thinking of targets an enemy plane with the atomic bomb can reach in the United States?

" . . . It is our duty to negotiate with restraint and with due regard for the rights of others. The time for the United Nations to become an effective instrument of world peace is at hand.

" . . . What is mostly needed, is education—knowledge based on facts and not propaganda derived from emotional prejudices or hysteria.

" . . . Should we not turn toward constructive action and away from the destructive use of our talents and energies and apply our inventive knowledge and resources toward a higher and higher standard of living for everybody?

" . . . We in the United States and among the western democracies must dispense with the self-righteous attitude which assumes that our own viewpoint is always 100 per cent right and that the other fellow is 100 per cent wrong. The world will not for any length of time tolerate dictatorship.

" . . . But it must be remembered that the Soviets are in a transition stage—their revolution against the tyranny and despotism of the Czars is only 30 years old, which is but a brief interval in world evolution.

" . . . We must strive all the harder to earn the confidence and trust of Russia as well as of all other nations. This means return to simple rules Jesus taught 2,000 years ago—the power of example. (*U. S. News*—World Report)

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Lippman on Foreign Policy—In his N. Y. Tribune column

on "End of the Atomic Monopoly", Walter Lippman wrote: "Now that the Russians have broken the monopoly, the basic premise of American policy has disappeared. A totally different policy . . . will have to be formulated. It would be a good idea to find new men who do not have too much to unlearn, whose personal prestige is not involved in proving how right they have always been, to make a fresh study of the whole problem."

* * * *

U. N. Official Says Russia Wants Peace—

Dr. Arne Bjornberg of Sweden, head of UN's 14 information centers said recently that Russia does not want war, and blamed American press for much of the tension between the two countries. He also asserted that the UN has information centers in Moscow, Prague and Warsaw and "there has been no censorship of information put out by these centers . . . as a matter of fact these governments even helped provide facilities." (*Christian Advocate*)

* * * *

Peace on the Move—

A grass roots peace movement is forming. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship is holding regional Peace Congresses across the land. For the Eastern States last month. For the Mid-West in Chicago, Jan. 14-15. Then St. Louis, Denver, San Francisco. Over 3,000 community leaders signed a petition for an alternative policy to the cold war. The Progressive Party hammered out a four point policy for peace. In Canada within a year some thirty city Councils for Peace have been formed and federated into a National Council. They all focus on common points: resumption of negotiations between equals; opening East-West trade. Outlawing the bomb and arranging to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes. American Friends Service Committee circularized the U. N. Assembly delegations to break the atomic deadlock. What are you and your church groups saying and doing for peace?

"VIOLENCE IN PEEKSKILL" is a documented report on "the violations of civil liberties at two Paul Robeson concerts near Peekskill on Aug. 27 and Sept. 4." The report is based on long, thorough investigation and was released December 8 by strongly anti-Communist organizations: American Civil Liberties Union, Council Against Intolerance, American Veterans Committee, Americans for Democratic Action and National Association for Advancement of Colored People. Their first conclusion was:

"There is no evidence whatever of Communist provocation on either occasion." (For their thorough documentation of this and other conclusions order full report from this office. Send 25¢ to cover costs.) Other conclusions include:

—"The outbreak embodies the combined expressions of the most explosive prejudices in American life—against Communists, Negroes and Jews."

—"Local press bears main responsibility for inflaming, possibly through sheer irresponsibility, . . . a mood of violence."

—"Robeson's concerts were not an intrusion into Peekskill but were private gatherings held 5 miles outside Peekskill which were disrupted deliberately by invading gangs. . ."

—"Terrorism was general against all who advocated freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and preservation of constitutional rights."

—"Evidence proves beyond question that the veterans intended to prevent the concerts from being held."

—"Effective police protection at first concert was deliberately withheld."

—"Preparations to police the second concert . . . were largely a sham insofar as Westchester County police were concerned and left the concert goers undefended."

—"Location of veterans' parades was deliberately provocative. County authorities did not insist that the parades be held elsewhere."

—"Evidence indicates that . . . county police fraternized with the rioters."

—"National condemnation has been the chief factor causing Peekskill to question this action. Local clergy have joined in this denunciation."

PEEKSKILL AFTERMATH

Peekskill—American Legion post asked the Field Library to remove all books by "known Communist authors" and to "refrain from purchasing such books" in the future.

Chester A. Smith, MFSA lay leader, President of the Field Library Board of Trustees, rejected the request and issued a public statement:

"As a member of the American Legion and as president of the Board of Trustees of the Field Library I disapprove of the request. The Legion's request is ill-advised and unworthy of this important, but sometimes misguiding organization."

The books "must be in any standard library." Hats off to Brother Smith for his courageous democratic stand!

Babies of Migratory Workers Starve to Death

In Handford, Calif., Coroner Smith said (Nov. 3, AP) he was investigating the malnutrition deaths of two babies in the Kings County Hospital. Health Officer Upp told the Board of Supervisors there had been four malnutrition deaths in four months, and there "probably will be more after the cotton picking season ends." (Kings is one of six San Joaquin Valley counties where more than 110,000 workers, many living in labor camps, are picking cotton.)

District Attorney Harp said there might be criminal prosecution if the children were neglected. But if the parents were destitute and could give their children no food, it would be a matter for the Welfare Department.

Migrant families are under-income families. Methodist women advocated action for migrants in their annual meeting. What are you doing now to raise low-income levels in your community? This will help prevent depression, end unemployment.

Chapter Activities

Chicago Chapter Discuss China, Local Affairs—Inter-racial meeting heard Maud Russell on New China and held spirited discussion. Local situations re transit fares, housing, race discrimination were explored. Letter of appreciation going to Bishop Magee for stand on academic freedom at McKendree College. (See SQB for October)

New England Holds Annual Retreat—On Armistice Day 40 MFSA members heard Dr. L. Harold DeWolf of Boston Theological School on "The Theological Bases for Social Action" and Willard Uphaus, executive secretary of National Religion and Labor Foundation on "The Churchman and the Current Labor Crisis."

New York East Chapter on Gambling—Took active part in fight to keep certain forms of gambling from being legalized in Connecticut. Legislative member later wrote to chapter, saying that measures would have passed except for aggressive action of Protestant clergymen.

New Chapter in Pittsburgh—Recently organized under able leadership of Rev. Clayton Adkins.

Portland Members Discuss Civil Rights—Voted to request that deportation case against four aliens be dropped, and that chapter continue investigation of case. Support and thanks were voted to Mayor's Committee on Civil Rights which plans broad educational program culminating in "Brotherhood Week" to set stage for presentation of Civil Rights Ordinance to City Council.

St. Paul Activities Under Way—Progressive plans being made. Monthly collections proposed to aid national office.

Wisconsin and West Wisconsin Hold Joint Conference—Theme of meeting was "The Church and Economic Life"; discussion under leadership of Kermit Eby, Carle Soule and Bailey Waltmire. Speakers included Laverne Merritt, W. Ross Conner and Allen McCaul.

CALLING ALL CHAPTERS

The Oregon Chapter invites any nine other leading Conference Chapters to join it in sending to MFSA before February 1 a special Chapter contribution of \$100, over and above normal membership dues collections. The Chapter proposes that 10 other Chapters raise \$75 each, 20 others \$50 each and 20 of the smallest Chapters \$25 each, in the same immediate period, to meet the present financial emergency. Oregon has already sent \$25 of its \$100 special pledge and has agreed to be fully responsible for collection of membership dues. What other Chapters will follow the splendid Oregon example?

SPREADING THE MESSAGE

An active MFSAer in Iowa, Rev. M. E. Dorr, gets the gospel's social message across each Sunday in his Church Service Program. On Oct. 30 he publicized the UN pamphlet on "World War on Tuberculosis." His Nov. 6 program had an item, "U. S. Bursts at Seams with Surplus Foods," describing the tremendous quantities of foodstuffs stored in the U. S. in face of the world's unfed children.

FEDERATION FOREIGN SEMINAR

MFSA'ers with Brothers Uphaus and Soule in England, and Germany last summer stress so strongly the value of such experience that the Federation wishes a similar seminar next summer. The group could spend a month in England, Scandinavia, or Germany at \$550 each, two months in several countries at \$750.

Before we choose leaders or the country, we should know how many are interested. Where? How long? When? Whose leadership? Write MFSA your suggestions.